

THE LIBERATOR
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

In the columns of the Liberator, both sides every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 49.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Boston Courier.

SLAVERY.

The fierce, indiscriminate and violent onslaught upon the slaveholding part of the nation by a phalanx that, in many of its phases, deserves to be called 'malignant,' has contributed far more than any other cause to the enactment of a fugitive slave law, which, but for the recent anti-slavery agitation, no one would have deemed necessary, while it kindled a storm of excitement which, at one time, threatened to engulf us all in one common ruin. Fortunately, we had a man at the helm whose wisdom and courage proved equal to the emergency, and the speech of the 7th of March brought back reason and good sense to the place of violence and fanaticism.

Slavery is said to be a sin, but yet we find no direct prohibition of it in the Bible, but on the contrary the relation of master and slave is more than once recognized there, while it is certain that for some purpose God has permitted its existence since the creation of the world. That he intends American slavery to be an exodus of the African race, from their native barbarism, and a means of educating and fitting them for the great experiment of self-government, seems not improbable; and this supposition derives more force than the fact that there seems to be no other way in which they could be thus educated, since it is only as a subject race that they can exist and flourish in contact with the whites.

The existence of the colored race is only suffered at the North, because of the paucity of its numbers. The importation of an hundred thousand of this race into any one of our free States would soon satisfy us of that fact, and yet we call upon the South to free their slaves at once, and apply every term of reproach, vilification and abuse on them, because they are not ready to take our advice. The slaves of the South are well clothed and fed, and taken care of in sickness and health, in youth and old age, and, with very rare exceptions, they are well treated. As a class, they are probably more cheerful and happy than any other, and that they increase rapidly furnishes strong evidence that they are in a position best suited to their present condition.

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That the two races cannot co-exist and flourish in any considerable numbers, except where one is the acknowledged superior, is proved by all the experience we have had upon the subject; and, if I am not mistaken, by the history of the world, since the first man was created. Whether the African race is sufficient and of itself to make progress, if left entirely to itself, is another question, and one of great interest. It is clear that the experiment can be tried in this country, as there is no part of our territory in which the race could ever remain long itself. The problem must be solved in Liberia, whether, if left to themselves, the freed slaves will retrograde from the point of civilization to which they have attained in place, or whether they will retain and improve upon it. From the experiment as far tried, we have great reason to hope, not only that the Liberians will be able to sustain themselves, but that they will introduce the arts of life and the blessings of the gospel to their benighted countrymen, while they help to extinguish that inhuman traffic which has so long tempted the cupidity of the stronger race.

It may be a compensation, that if Africa's children have been dragged through the horrors of the Middle Passage, that their descendants have been returned with the germs of civilization, acquired during their long servitude, to take root upon their native shores, and finally to bring the dark race into the pale of civilization and Christian nations—perhaps, in some respects, to outstrip them all.

Liberia is the only hope of the colored man, and his true friends will tell him so, for they know it must be so. We may decry as much as we please on those fruitful themes, 'liberty' and 'chains and slavery,' but liberty is only valuable only as we can profit and improve by it.

There can be but little doubt that the slaves of our Southern States are in possession of as much liberty as is suited to their present condition; more especially as in this country freedom can bring them no equality, but only a degrading sense of inferiority, and a social position as hopeless and deplorable as can well be imagined.

It is to be hoped that more sober and just views will prevail on this subject, and that our ultra abolitionists will see the folly they have been committing while they have undoubtably acted with good intentions. It were better that they should endeavor to ascertain and be guided by those laws which have always governed the social relations of differing races, and listen to the voice of experience rather than to the promptings of excited feelings.

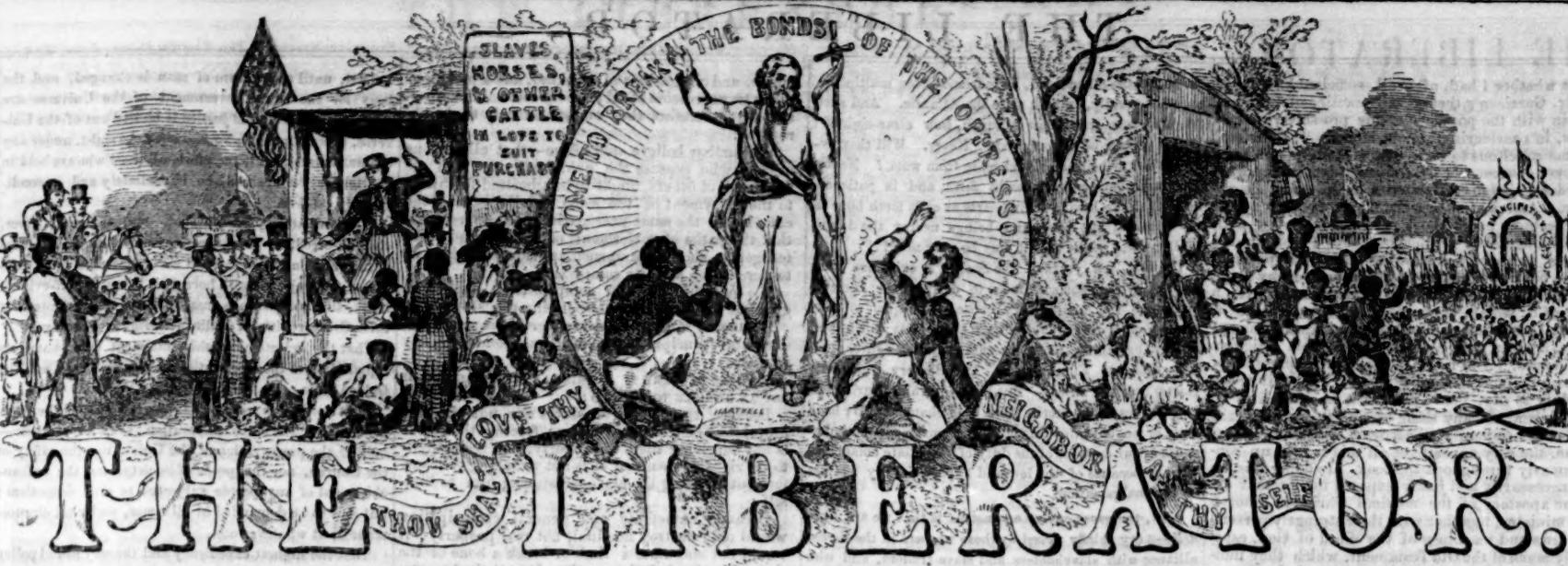
The late exaggerated action of Mrs. Stowe is, I suppose, likely to effect any thing but good, either to the cause of Christian charity or human freedom. Its tendency is to excite bitter feelings among slaveholders, and themselves wronged, as in fact they are, while it panders to that morbid sensibility already too rife amongst us. Cases of hardship are to be found in all conditions of life, which require, but the few individuals to excite our deepest sympathy, and fit us with indignation that such wrongs are suffered to exist.

The three millions of slaves in this country, will probably furnish a smaller proportion of the slaves than the same number of men, women, and children taken from the most favored parts of the world, and of this Mrs. Stowe, who has resided in a slave State, is no doubt fully aware. To point out cases of individual suffering is easy, and Mrs. Stowe will have the satisfaction of having added to that prejudice already too common against a large class of our citizens, an account of that which they could not have prevented, and cannot now help, while she herself can suggest no remedy for the evil, except the very slow process of colonization.

She has also contributed to furnish new arguments to those who are always eager to find some cause of complaint against our republican institutions.

The conclusion that Liberia is the only hope of the colored race constitutes the most useful part of her book, and the assistance thus given to the colonization movement furnishes some excuse for the exciting pictures she has drawn,—pictures which must necessarily arouse the bitterest feelings at home, while they tend to prejudice us in the eyes of foreigners, who either do not or cannot understand the real nature and bearings of negro slavery in the United States—remark which may be applied with no little force to a large proportion of our own people at the North, who indulge in such violent declamation against a system, the practical operation of which they have never witnessed, and know only from the inflammatory statements of excited reformers.

Uncle Tom's Cabin is written with ability, and



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, PRINTERS.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1853.

WHOLE NUMBER 1192.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

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Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; and thereby to make the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery the vital and animating spirit of the national government.—John Quincy Adams.

RECENTLY

REMOVED

FROM

AN ACT

OF THE

ONE PERSON

COLLEGE

OF GOVERNMENT

IN THE

STATE

OF

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

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science, in history, in politics, in religion, instinctively conforming to the principles under which we live, would maintain the freedom depend of which the intellect becomes a cripple and the conscience a slave.'

He spoke of the whole Union:—'I have visited twenty-five States; and that the spirit of which I speak was evident, averse, paramount, in each and all, in strict truth I have asserted. I have seen no difference between the North and the South. . . . Every where among the citizens of this marvellous republic have I found that freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of discussion, and rights solemnly declared in the instruments under which these various States are modelled, admitted by the willing sense, guaranteed by the law, and by the intuitive conservatism of the people made inviolable.'

How could Thomas Meagher utter such an enormous lie? Of the two sentences we quote every word is false,—and every man knows it. Is the patriot of '48 sunk in an 'intuition conservatism'? Has his intellect already become a cripple and his conscience a slave? Even then, let him have some mercy on the UNWILLING SLAVES against whom his paltering tongue so loosely wags. Alas for our 'proud tribune,' who can thus stoop to anoint his forehead with the slime of all the cringing things whose shame has overcome that old highway of convenience.

Will Meagher return on us by pointing to that lately issued Address 'from the Democrats of England to the Democrats of the United States'! We tell him, and we tell the true democrats of America, that that Address bears a lie on its very face,—that its proclaimer is not entitled to speak of the democrats of England; that he did not even (as he asserts he did) circulate it among such British Democrats as were accessible to him. That paltering address, which prays for the safety of the slaveholder, speaks not the thought of the Democrats, but only of the Atheists of England. Will Thomas Francis Meagher turn palterer with them?

REPUBLICAN LIVERIES.

Mr. Sanford, the United States' Chargé d' Affaires at Paris, has won some applause by daring to wear the simple dress of an American citizen at the French Court. We can not but think the applause and the simple dress of an American both out of place. If a 'republic' can accredit a friendly envoy to a Despot, and such a Despot,—if a decent American is not ashamed to wear, among any circumstances, the gaud of a Villain, crowned or not,—so much fuss need not be made about the Liver.

Dip the Stars and Stripes in the gutter of a Paris shamble: that will make the fitted dress for an American Ambassador to the Court of Napoleon the Little. But the daring of the nineteenth century is all of that same complexion. Put an honest coat on: that's all.—*碌*.

A SLAVEHOLDER'S CONFESSION.

An agitation is going on in several of the cotton planting States, in favor of exempting a certain number of slaves from forced sales under execution. The plan is advocated as a means of strengthening the slave system, by making it the interest of all non-slaveholders to purchase slaves and become direct parties to the system; and it is quite probable that a law of the kind proposed will be passed in Alabama, and perhaps in other States, during the coming winter. It is very zealously advocated in the *Mobile Tribune* by Mr. Parker Walker, in a series of papers, in one of which he replies to the objection, that an exemption law would be an acknowledgement of the weakness of slavery, in the following manner.

Said Committee reported the following list of officers, which, being read to the Society, was unanimously accepted, and the persons therein named were accordingly chosen:

President—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Boston. Vice Presidents—James Mott, of Pa.; Thomas Garrett, of Del.; Francis Jackson, of Mass.; Peter Libby, of Me.; John L. Clark, of R. I.; Samuel J. May, of N. Y.; Robert Purvis, of Pa.; Edmund Quincy, of Mass.; Lucretia Mott, of Pa.; Bartholomew Fussell, of Pa.; Joseph Barker, of Ohio; Hannah Cox, of Pa.; William H. Furness and Henry Grew, of Philadelphia.

Secretaries—Samuel May, Jr., of Boston; Oliver Johnson, of New York; Cyrus M. Burleigh, of Philadelphia; Sarah Pugh, of Philadelphia; and G. B. Stebbins, of Rochester, N. Y.

Finance Committee—Benjamin C. Bacon, of Pa.; Abby Kimber, of Pa.; Benjamin Brown, of Ohio; Alice Jackson, of Pa.

Business Committee—Wendell Phillips, Mary Grew, Dr. R. L. Remond, Charles C. Burleigh, Anne Warren Weston, James Miller McKim, Edward M. Davis, Thomas Whitson, Joseph A. Dugdale, Henry C. Wright.

Opportunity for prayer being given, vocal prayer was offered, in a fervent spirit, by Henry Grew, of Philadelphia.

Mr. GARRISON, on taking the chair, made an eloquent and earnest address to the Society. He said that, in holding this twentieth anniversary, he must congratulate all who participated in the formation of the Society, and also all those who had, since that time, united in the work of delivering the slave, upon the present meeting, and upon the unquestionable progress, and many signal triumphs, of the cause during the past twenty years.

Our movement, he said, is no short-lived, superficial and temporary movement. It is great, deep,

world-wide, affecting all the hopes and interests of humanity, and identical with the advancement of the race.

Our instrumentalities are the same now as at the beginning—the faithful and uncompromising utterances of the truth—its application to all associations, institutions, and men, without respect to persons. And our spirit, said he, has been, as we believe, the true spirit and one most acceptable to God—the spirit of human brotherhood, of good will to all men—desiring the virtue and highest well-being of all, seeking the harm of none.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal task-masters.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter.

Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—and the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal task-masters.

But those for whose emancipation we are striving—constituting, at the present time, at least one-sixth part of our countrymen—are recognized by the law, and through their fellow-beings, as marketable commodities, as goods and chattels, as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoying no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons, are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness and holy cause.

Done at Philadelphia, the 6th day of December, A. D. 1833.

Mr. MAY was called to give some reminiscences of the Convention of 1833, and of the preparation of the Declaration of Sentiments. [A full report of his remarks will appear elsewhere.]

J. M. McKittrick acknowledged the general courtesy of the newspaper press of the city, in announcing this meeting, and giving also a brief statement of the position of this Society, free of all expense to the Society.

SUSAN COX made some remarks, in testimony of her adherence to the Anti-Slavery cause.

Voted, That the hour of meeting this afternoon be 2 o'clock, and this evening, 7 o'clock; and that the hours of meeting to-morrow be 10 A. M., and 2 P. M.

Adjourned.

AFTERNOON. The Society was called to order by Peter Libby, of Maine, one of the Vice-Presidents.

Rev. S. J. May, by request, gave to the meeting some further reminiscences of the Convention of 1833.

On motion of Henry C. Wright, and seconded,

Voted, That a Committee of three be appointed to prepare a history of the Society, and of the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, during the past twenty years, to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society in May next.

William Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, and Anne Weston, were successively nominated and chosen said Committee.

JOSEPH BARKER, of Ohio, addressed the Society as to the best ways and means of abolishing Slavery. His speech was able and highly interesting.

HENRY GREW, of Philadelphia, spoke of the duty of relying upon the blessing of God.

The following preamble and series of resolutions were introduced by Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee:

Whereas, The commemoration of the Second Decade of the American Anti-Slavery Society presents a favorable opportunity to renew its testimonials and to define its measures in regard to the overthrow of Slavery, therefore

Resolved, That this Society, rejecting the use of all carnal weapons to effect its benevolent object, relies alone

for success on the constant promulgation of the truth, and its faithful application to the consciences and hearts of men; on the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love, and the abolition of Slavery by the spirit of repentance.

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of the law:

That if they lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity.

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endear-

ments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments, and that therefore they ought instantly to be abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—that all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of performance, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating the slaves; because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle that man cannot hold property in man;

Because SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD;

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its rightful owners; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to him-self;

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and

Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of extirpation, which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of Slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the Slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject:

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave-trade between the several States, and to abolish Slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove Slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical power, to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave-owner to vote on three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territory, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to Slavery is criminal and full of danger; it MUST BE BROKEN UP.

These are our views and principles—these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of divine revelation as upon the Everlasting Rock.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village, in our land.

We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty and rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparsingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of Slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions; and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never.

Truth, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of Liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of Slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation—whether we live to witness the triumph of LIBERTY, JUSTICE, and HUMANITY, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE read several most appropriate signs of Scripture.

Letters from Mr. G. W. Lewis, on behalf of his father, Samuel Lewis, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and from Rev. T. W. Higginson, of Worcester, Mass., were read, and it was voted to publish said letters with the proceedings of the Society.

MARY COX expressed her firm conviction that the anti-slavery cause is the true Christian work and movement of this country and time.

EDMUND QUINCY gave an explanation of his remarks last evening, with regard to the difference between the oppression of this country and Great Britain.

The chair was taken by Robert Purvis, one of the Vice-Presidents.

JOSEPH BARKER made some very impressive statements concerning the terrible effects of the cruel legislation of Great Britain in the case of the Corn Laws. Still, there was no difference between himself and other speakers as to the infernal character of American slavery.

OLIVER JOHNSON said that, having examined the reports of our meeting in the daily press of this city, he considered it due to them and to ourselves to say, that they had generally spoken fairly of this meeting and its proceedings.

MARY COX recited some beautiful lines of the late Elizabeth M. Chandler.

After an animated discussion, in which Dr. John Barker, Mr. G. W. Lewis, and others, took part, it was voted to publish said lines of the late Elizabeth M. Chandler.

EDWARD S. COX recited some beautiful lines of the late Elizabeth M. Chandler.

JOSEPH BARKER recited some very impressive lines of the late Elizabeth M. Chandler.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, in a most eloquent and conclusive manner, argued the perfect identity of the anti-slavery cause with the whole genius and spirit of the cause of Jesus Christ.

MRS. WILLIAMS, of Wilmington, Del., (colored,) said she must be indulged in a few words. She spoke with much emotion and most impressively, remarking that she had attended but few anti-slavery meetings; but, she continued, I have been told that these men (pointing to Messrs. Garrison, Burleigh and others) are the enemies of our country.

JOSEPH BARKER, of Ohio, addressed the Society as to the best ways and means of abolishing Slavery. His speech was able and highly interesting.

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Because SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THERE

our soul, but rather to multiply their expostulations, warnings and rebukes, in the same spirit of good will and Christian fidelity, and to continue their pecuniary co-operation to the extent of their ability—assured that, in this manner, they are powerfully accelerating the approach of that day when the trump of jubilee shall proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof!

Resolved, That our most grateful acknowledgements are tendered to one long-tried and inflexible fellow-labourer, JAMES MILLER MCKIN, for his gratuitous and effective vindication of this Society, and its prominent supporters, against the numberless false and malicious charges brought against them by the enemies of individual and universal freedom, during his late visit to England; and also to an equally devoted friend, SARAH PRUIT, for a similar labor performed abroad during a more protracted absence; and that we have their return to these shores, in health and safety, and to the field of conflict, ready as hitherto to spend and be spent in the noblest cause of the age.

J. MILLER MCKIN, desiring to speak to these resolutions, but finding unable to do so, at the present time, owing to indisposition, was by vote requested to write up in writing what he purposed to say, that it might be incorporated with the proceedings.

The following resolutions on the Colonization Society were reported from the Business Committee:

Resolved, That in regard to the Colonization enterprise, we make no issue on any of the following points—whether Africa ought not to be reclaimed from barbarism and idolatry; nor whether black missionaries are not better adapted to its climate than white ones; nor whether it is wrong to assist voluntary emigration to the shores of that continent; nor whether the slave trade has not been crippled, or driven from their localities by the colonies already established; nor whether the settlement of Liberia has not attained, in the same period, as high a position as did the Plymouth or Jamestown colony; nor whether the condition of the free colored people in this land is not one of great hardship; nor whether, to those who are held in bondage, exile with penniless freedom is not preferable to a life of chattelized servitude; but it is, what are the doctrines, designs, and measures of the American Colonization Society, and is it worthy of the countenance and support of a civilized and Christian people?

Resolved, That we abhor and repudiate the Colonization Society, for the following among other reasons:—(1.) Because it sanctions the infernal doctrine, that man can rightfully hold property in his fellow-man;—(2.) Because it is managed and controlled by Slaveholders, whose aim is to give quietude, security and power to the Slave system, by the removal of the free blacks;—(3.) Because it declares the leprosy spirit of complexional prejudice is natural, and not to be removed even by the operations of the Holy Spirit upon the heart;—(4.) Because it is the bitter, malignant, and active enemy of the Anti-Slavery enterprise;—(5.) Because it stimulates and sanctions the enactment of残酷 laws and proscriptive edicts against our free-colored population, under the pressure of which they shall find it impossible to stand erect on their native soil, and may therefore be induced to emigrate to Africa;—(6.) Because the motives it avows, the sentiments it inculcates, the means it uses, the measures it sanctions, are base, cruel, demoniacal;—and, (7.) Because, from its institution to the present time, the objects of its professed commiseration have unceasingly borne the strongest testimony against it, as uncalled for, late, persecuting, and unnatural.

At the time had expired for which Sansom Hall was engaged, the Society adjourned to meet, without delay, at the hall corner of Ninth and Arch streets.

Reassembled according to adjournment, the President in the chair.

The resolutions on Colonization being taken up, Giles B. Stebbins spoke in their support, briefly, but to the point.

J. Kelly, Esther Moore, Josiah Bond, Charles C. Burleigh, Elizabeth Williams, Sojourner Truth, Jarena Lee, Mr. Glasgow, James Walker, and others, continued the discussion.

The question was called for, and a strong and unanimous vote was given in favor of the resolutions, and against the American Colonization Society.

The question was called for on the remaining resolutions, and being taken upon them, separately, they were adopted.

Rev. S. J. MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y., said he rose to perform a painful duty. Many present, said he, will recollect a statement which has appeared in the anti-slavery and other journals, to the effect that all the members of the Unitarian Society in St. Louis, Missouri, have emancipated their slaves, and that the Society now stands wholly free from participation in slaveholding. It appears that this is not true; a letter from W. G. Eliot, pastor of the Society, published in the *Christian Register*, at Boston, denies the fact. Mr. May expressed, with much earnestness, the sorrow and shame he felt in being obliged to make this statement, in correction of a report, which had afforded the highest pleasure to himself and many others.

Mr. Garrison offered the following resolution:—

Whereas, among the endless devices of the pro-slavery spirit, is the attempt to divert attention from the great issue now before the country, and to baffle the operations of this Society, by raising against it the most foul and malignant outrages—such as it is, that it is an Anti-Sabbath, an Anti-Bible, an Anti-Government, and an Infidel Society, &c. &c.; therefore,

Resolved, That the only views which are sanctioned and promulgated by the American Anti-Slavery Society, on these topics, are—That it is lawful on the Sabbath-day to remember the millions of our fellow-countrymen who have been plunged into the horrible pit of slavery, and to combine to extricate them therefrom;—That the Bible is most foully and wickedly perverted, by the great body of the American clergy, to the sanction and support of American Slavery;—That any Government which makes merchandise of human beings, and hunts fugitive slaves, is to be execrated and repudiated forever; That the only infidelity which the Society endorses is that which breaks the yoke and lets the oppressed go free,—and the only Christianity which it rejects as spurious, is that which vindicates slavery as compatible with justice, humanity, and the love of God.

J. M. MCKIN stated the facts in reference to the protracted and harassing prosecutions to which Daniel Kauffman and Stephen F. Weakley, of Cumberland county, had been subjected during the past six years, for harboring a family of alleged fugitive slaves, resulting in the conviction of Mr. Kauffman, and the acquittal of Mr. Weakley, in the U. S. Circuit Court, after which Judge Grier granted a new trial in the case of Mr. Weakley. Mr. MCKIN then read a letter from Mr. W., stating that he had, by advice of his counsel and friends, settled the suit by the payment of a large sum, and defrauding all of who sympathized with him in bearing this burden. Mr. MCKIN appealed to all present to assist in vindicating this worthy and suffering man.

The Secretaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society were instructed to obtain the original copy of the Declaration of Sentiments, as engrossed on parchment by Dr. Abraham L. Cox.

LUCEYTA MOTT urged attention to that portion of the Declaration of Sentiments which relates to our giving the preference to the products of *free labor* over those of *slave labor*. She begged the friends to consider also, whether they did not compromise their principles by aiding in the purchase of individual slaves, thereby enabling the slaveholder perhaps to buy two free slaves in the place of the one sold.

EDWARD QUINCY expressed the thanks of all the members of the Society and others present from abroad, to the friends resident in Philadelphia, for their abundant and generous hospitality.

After further impressive remarks, in reference to the final separation of the assembly, by Samuel May and W. L. Garrison, the Society adjourned sine die.

Thus ended a meeting which, for ability in the discussions, a world-wide spirit of liberality on the part of the speakers, deep and growing interest on the part of all present, fidelity to the cause of the enslaved, and a spirit of undisturbed and unfaltering reliance upon the truth of God, has scarcely been equalled and perhaps never surpassed, by any in the history of the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, President.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,

OLIVER JONES,

CYRUS M. BURLEIGH,

Secretaries.

SARAH PUH,

GILES B. STEBBINS,

LETTER FROM HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN.

CENTREVILLE, Ind., Nov. 20, 1853.

W. LLOYD GARRISON :

DEAR SIR—I have received your letter of the 10th instant, inviting me to be present at the twentieth Anniversary of the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in Philadelphia, on the 3d and 4th December next. For this distinguished and undivided honor, please accept my thanks. Most gladly would I be with you, and avail myself of the catholic invitation of your Society to occupy its platform, 'untrammeled in regard to thought or speech.' Nothing could afford me more heartfelt gratification than to imbibe afresh the resolute purpose and martyr spirit of our great movement, by a friendly communion with its heroes; and it is therefore with unfeigned regret that I find myself precluded by other engagements from attending your celebration.

The object of your Society is 'the speedy and eternal overthrow of chattel slavery in our land.' The magnitude of such a work requires a faith in those who undertake it commensurate with its achievement. They must have faith in Providence, in Rectitude, in the triumph of the Right, through the sincere strivings of men. All good causes lag and languish through lack of this faith; through a lurking suspicion which finds its way into our hearts, that injustice is a necessity under the government of the Most High. If we really believed in the truth to which we subscribe in words; if, in our judgment, we could find 'one strong thing in this earth, the just thing, the true thing'; if we could fully realize that justice is omnipotent, and that slavery and every other refuge of lies must perish, because opposed to the benevolent ordinances of the Universe; and if men everywhere would acknowledge and practically apply these truths, humanity would be redeemed from its woes, and the millennial day would be ushered in upon the world. Here lies the grand difficulty with our movement. There are even many professed anti-slavery men, who, I believe, are scarcely half converted, who manifest no confidence in the power of truth they profess, by efforts or sacrifice for their advancement, and whose hearts falter and grow cold when the signs of promise are all around their pathway. For myself, I believe the Providence of God, availings itself of the blindness and wickedness of men, is hastening on a great crisis in the history of our country, and that the cause in which we are engaged is passing through a transitional period from a feeble and unpopular, to a powerful and dominant movement, among the great forces that are shaking the world.

This opinion is based upon facts which, to some, indicate the decline of free principles. The passage of the Compromise measures, now more than three years since, and the decree which simultaneously went forth that there is no higher law than the wicked enactments of men, the preaching of multitudinous heaps of lower law sermons, and the joining hands of Castle Garden politicians and atheistical Doctors of Divinity in the endeavor to dethrone Jehovah and inaugurate the Devil in his stead; the holding of grand Union meetings throughout the country, after the Union had been already saved by the plasters and nostrums of its political doctors; the calling out of the Army and Navy by the federal authorities to assist in the return of a fugitive slave, and the effort to drag from the grave of tyranny, and foist into our jurisprudence, the infernal doctrine of constructive treason; the cold-blooded conspiracy of the Whig and Democratic parties last year at Baltimore, against republicanism, humanity, and God; the recent case of John Freeman at Indianapolis, and therecking villainy of the Marshal of Indiana in stripping the body of his victim so that a Christless grave or Southern caskets; but I love it not for itself. I love it as the means to an end. I love it as the exponent and conservator of the principles of man's equality and self-government. I love it as the legacy of fathers who avowed that government had only its authority from the consent of the governed. I love it as the guardian also of religious liberty, and the true Christianity—that religion is between man and his God; and that no man can rightfully, in this respect, exercise censorship over others. I love the Union as the banner-bearer of the aspirants of freedom of all lands and nations—lovely in order to be loved. But when it fails in these 'glorious' ends—and in these only 'glorious'—then, say I, let it perish forever!

And I thus love it, I shall make eternal war upon all those canting scoundrels, whether in Church or State, who would pervert its true prestige to the retainment of slavery, and its extension and perpetuity. I return the war of those who would be avenged upon the world, and its extension to those who, under the hallowed names of Democracy and Republicanism, stand by foreign despots, and who, amid blood and prisons, bear banners inscribed with 'law and order'! I return the war of the Supreme Court of the United States, who, under the pretence of devotion to law, pervert every principle of justice, of the President of the slave power, appealing to the hearts and consciences of the people, they were demanded by the times; for it has been said truly, that wrong institutions must grow to their full stature, and display all their diabolical enormity, before men will engage earnestly in the work of their overthrow. We should not desire to have Satan act with a prudent circumspection, and enlist the world on his side, or disarm its opposition by disinguing himself in the drapery of decency. Let him show his cloven foot, and make palpable the fact that he is a devil, and his empire will be subverted.

Heinrich should the enemies of slavery thank God and take courage. We have unmasked the dragon. We have shorn it of its long-permitted immunity from the right of search, and compelled it to stand up in its unveiled ugliness before the judgment-seat of the world. The slave interest itself has become a most efficient helper in its own destruction. Its unbalanced rule has hinging set the world to thinking, its great heart to beating, and its great voice to agitating. The anti-slavery spirit has pervaded our literature, and millions of hearts, in the old world and the new, are now throbbing responsive to the sufferings of the American slaves. It is rapidly moulding the public opinion of the civilized world, which Mr. Webster used to tell us is the strongest power on earth. It is remorselessly breaking into fragments the great political parties of our country, and at the same time extending its dominion into the churches and hierarchies, which it will either purify or scatter to the four winds, as a preliminary to the establishment of other systems, wherein we with courage, constancy, and an unfaltering faith, in our continual labors for the oppressed. You, I am sure, and those who constitute the American Anti-Slavery Society, will not be blinded or disheartened by the irregular ebb and flow of political currents, or by facts which drift about upon their surface, but you will penetrate beneath it to those great moral tides which underlie and heave onward the politics, the religion, and the whole frame-work of society.

With an assured trust in the progress and triumph of our cause,

I am, yours, very truly,

GEO. W. JULIAN.

FROM HENRY C. HOWELLS.

ROSE DALE, near Allegheny, Pa.

Nov. 26th, 1853.

My beloved friends in the cause of universal right and freedom:

Twenty years have passed since it was my happiness to address you on the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Twenty years of patient, persevering and enduring toil in the happy service of the God of Love. Twenty years of persecution and defamation, with all manner of evil spoken falsely of you for the name's sake of Him who pities the poor and destitute.

Taking joyfully the spoiling of your goods, and the jeopardy of your lives; the execration of tyrants, and the anathsems of a hating priesthood, you have been thus far sustained by Omnipotence, shielded in the hour of danger, and cheered onward with the promises of Him who cannot lie, that Truth (and your cause is Truth)

shall finally triumph over every obstacle; whether it proceed from the grosser forms of vice, or from the perversities of what has been emphatically called 'American Christianity.' The Lord and Master, in addressing the latter class, said, that 'Publicans and harlots shall enter the Kingdom before you.' What do we see? The Church (with some happy exceptions) which has shut up her bowls of compassion, deaf to the wailing of millions of the human brotherhood not more unworthy than themselves, and dumb in the cause of those appointed to destruction; therefore she is losing her moral influence in the world, and from her time-serving policy, sinking in the estimation of common honesty. Yet in her God-defying position, to cover her own shame, she points at you, with the finger of affected, scorn and with a mendacious tongue cries, 'Infidel!' Would God that the charge could not be retorted, with fearful reality, and tremendous power! Again she shouts, 'Atheist!' So did the idolators of Rome to the primitive Christians because they would not worship their gods. But the practical Infidels and Atheists are those who handle the word of God deceitfully, who honor Him with their lips, but in works deny Him, and His power defy. They form a league with the enemies of God and man. The Devil, too, burdened like Baalam's ass with the weight of many sins, now with the tongue of humanity rebukes the madness of the prophet! [as in various places Uncle Tom's Cabin, with all its thrilling, heart-breaking realities is acted to the life, before crowding, weeping thousands. The same class of the community who once were proud to be your persecutors, will rejoice to do the roughest work of breaking the chain of slavery. Lastly, if human testimony is of any value, you have coadjutors among the spirits of the just made perfect, who from the upper world are teaching a pure morality that taught by the churches generally.

But what do we now see? When the professed friends of the Redeemer are false to their trust, He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him. The Fugitive Law, black as the pit with moral pollution, is working a mighty change. The Theatre, too, burdened like Baalam's ass with the weight of many sins, now with the tongue of humanity rebukes the madness of the prophet! [as in various places Uncle Tom's Cabin, with all its thrilling, heart-breaking realities is acted to the life, before crowding, weeping thousands. The same class of the community who once were proud to be your persecutors, will rejoice to do the roughest work of breaking the chain of slavery. Lastly, if human testimony is of any value, you have coadjutors among the spirits of the just made perfect, who from the upper world are teaching a pure morality that taught by the churches generally.

It was Seneca who wrote this, and lived to act the same part himself in the decline of Rome. What a waste of virtue it seemed to them! But now that Greece and Rome are long fallen, and melancholy to relate, four children of Mrs. Morrow, two boys and two girls, perished in the flames. The eldest, a girl, was aged 15 years. The fire originated about midnight, in the house occupied by Mrs. Morrow. It is one of the most heart-rending occurrences that ever happened in this country.—Sheboygan (Wisc.).

It was an ancient maxim, that 'it is far easier to conquer a nation than one wise man'; and it is so now.

I am, yours, very respectfully,

W. H. HIGGINSON.

SARAH H. YOUNG,

No. 126 Merrimack street, Lowell.

November 22d, 1853.

MANCHESTER, N. H.

An Anti-Slavery meeting will be held in MANCHESTER, N. H., on Sunday, Dec. 11, and will be attended by Rev. A. T. FOSS and Parker Pillsbury, Agents of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society.

LECTURES TO LADIES. We call attention to the Lectures to Ladies, (see notices,) by Prof. Brown. He comes highly recommended, and his Course will doubtless be very entertaining and instructive. His first lecture (a free one) will be given to-morrow (Saturday) evening.

Four Children Burned to Death.—On Friday night, Nov. 4, three houses, situated at the west end of the village of Paris, in this county, were burned to the ground; and, melancholy to relate, four children of Mrs. Morrow, two boys and two girls, perished in the flames. The eldest, a girl, was aged 15 years. The fire originated about midnight, in the house occupied by Mrs. Morrow. It is one of the most heart-rending occurrences that ever happened in this country.—Sheboygan (Wisc.).

It was an ancient maxim, that 'it is far easier to conquer a nation than one wise man'; and it is so now.

I am, yours, very respectfully,

T. W. HIGGINSON.

Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Secretaries.

S. H. Gay.

FROM WM. G. W. LEWIS.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 29th, 1853.

DEAR SIR,—My father, Samuel Lewis, has received a letter requesting his presence at your annual anniversary, at Philadelphia, on the third and fourth of December.

Mr. Lewis's health will prevent him from leaving home at present, while a severe attack of illness prevents his even answering your letter in the manner you suggest.

I must regret it is not in my power to be with you.

The loss is mine. But should any of my old friends, or any friends of progression, journey this way, I shall be happy to give them a passing home and hearty welcome.

I cannot close this letter without expressing my joy at the successful and happy results of the first lectures given in the Slave States by those excellent women, Lucretia Mott and Lucy Stone. Much of the mighty work of reform is, I believe, yet to be accomplished by women who once were proud to be your persecutors, will rejoice to do the roughest work of breaking the chain of slavery. Lastly, if human testimony is of any value, you have coadjutors among the spirits of the just made perfect, who from the upper world are teaching a pure morality that taught by the churches generally.

Yours for the cause of humanity,

WM. G. W. LEWIS.

Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Secretaries.

S. H. Gay.

FROM HON. GERRIT SMITH.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 29th, 1853.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Your invitation finds me suffering under rush of blood to the head. My reply must therefore be brief.

I should indeed long to be with you on the 3d and 4th proximo, but I cannot be. I hope to be able to be in Washington at that time.

Truly yours,

GERRIT SMITH.

FROM REV. E. H. CHAPIN.

POETRY.

From the Voice of the Fugitive.
JOHN BULL AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

Friend Jonathan, my young John!
We'll take some chat together;
Ye are a growing boy, John,
As ever stood on leather;
And loud your voice is heard, John,
It sweeps the broad Atlantic;
When ye become excited, John,
Ye act a little frantic.

Ye say our laboring men, John,
As it regards their station,
Are worse than chattel slaves, John,
That toil on your plantation;
Like other toys ye think, John,
Ye are more wise already,

Than Johnny Bull your sire, John,
That good old man so steady.

Friend Jonathan, my young John!
How strange a lad ye're growing;
A Democrat ye are, John,
Much like a rooster crowing;
When July comes along, John,
Ye raise your poles to heaven,
And talk of freedom, then, John,
As all to man that's given.

Ye speak of factory girls, John!
That toil in town and city,
As suffering more than slaves, John,
And more deserving pity;
And for our lab'ring men, John,
Ye seem to have a horror,
Each drop of sweat they shed, John,
Affects your hearts with sorrow!

Now, Jonathan, my boy, John!
We'll talk the matter clever;
John Bull has children poor, John,
Yet sell them will never;
For little babes and mothers, John,
Our John will keep no shambles,
For such ye'll find no market, John,
In England, if you ramble.

Queen Vie, unlike to Pieres, John,
Would never pledge the nation
To catch her subjects thus, John,
(Ye're proud of her creation!)
She lets the poorest go, John,
No bloodhound's e'er pursuing,
While on your own slaves' tracks, John,
Such mischief oft is brewing.

Ye are a pious boy, John!
If we may take your preaching;
Yet from your slaves the Word, John,
Of Jesus and his teaching
Ye will withhold, and try, John,
To make them like your cattle,
And for the Prince of Darkness, John,
Thus do a valiant battle!

My democratic friend, John!
My pious boy and ready,
My best advice to you, John,
Is, keep a little steady!
Your crowing and your pray'rs, John!
With clanking chains are ringing,
The mother's wall seems strange, John,
When mingled with your singing!

WHITE LAKE, Mich.

From the Boston Journal.

A DIALOGUE.

PHILANTHROPIST.

Very pedestrian, where are you going?
Bundle in one hand, and bandbox in 'other?

IRISH HELP.

Going to seek a new place, if you please, sir—
Sad is my heart, though my feelings I smother.

PHILANTHROPIST.

Yes, in your face I see marks of detraction;
Why did you leave the last place where you lived,
If for your mistress you felt this affection,
Which, as you truly say, scarce can be hid?
Why did you leave her?—or did she, unkindly,
And, without reason, cast you adrift?

It pains me to see you thus wandering blindly—
Come, in my wagon I'll take you a lift.

IRISH HELP.

Turn me away, sir, it is you, sir?

Truth! I should like to see one that would do it.

If you just think I'm a worm, drive away, sir,

You and your wagon—I'll go on foot.

PHILANTHROPIST.

Did you not tell me that sad was your heart, ma'am?

Did you not tell me that you had no home?

Did you not tell me how hard 'twas to part, ma'am,

With a good place, and thus wearily roam?

IRISH HELP.

May be you think that I can't get another;

May be you think that no man wants a girl;

Go, get along with you, you and your brother,

Or into your wagon a brick-bat I'll hurl!

Maybe you think to this country I came, sir,

To stick in one place, like an old rotten log!

Truth! and I'd think myself greatly to blame, sir,

To come to a free land, and work like a dog.

If you are so anxious to know just the rayson

I left the place where I lived near three year,

'Twas cos the mistress had the impence brazen,

To tell me white sugar and butter were dear,

And that she wished I would rise in the morning

Without making her get out of her bed

And come as to my attic door just at the dawning.

Knocking as if to awaken the dead.

Says I, just lie still, then, till the fire itself makes,

Keep in your warm bed, my honey, my dear,

For it's the last time my morning's rest I breaks,

To get up and wait on you, never you fear.

So off then went, sir, this bright Monday morning—

Left all the clothes standin' in 'suds—

Up to the attic, without ever turning

To look at her face, and packed all my duds,

Into the bandbox, as you may see sir,

Which I have carried full six miles to-day,

Without ever a morsel of bread or of tea, sir,

But never mind that, I have had my own way!"

Brookline.

SONNET TO A HAUGHTY BEAUTY.

BY JOHN G. SAXE.

You're very elegant, my lofy lady,

And have indeed a most bewitching face,

Which only wants a little modest grace

To make you beautiful as Byron's 'Haidee'!

A decent pride there's certainly no harm in;

The very best of us must still be human;

But though fine features charm us in a woman,

Beauty with modesty is twice as charming!

I knew a lady, fairer, colder, purer

Than any ice on Nova Zembla's side,

Who grew so ugly with overweening pride,

To took a regular small pox to cure her!

Proud, she was spurned, but Nature, thus outwitted

The girl was loved the moment she was pitted!

NIGHT Dews.

The dews of the evening most carefully shun;

These tears of the sky for the loss of the sun.

THE LIBERATOR.

TO H. B. S.

I am happy to answer your 'few more questions,' (signed H. B. S., perhaps by mistake of the amanuensis,) though some of them are founded upon a misapprehension which it becomes my first business to clear up.

Our judgment in religion ought undoubtedly to be founded on those same laws of reason and common sense on which we act in the matters of ordinary life. Reason and common sense are the instruments by which we must judge of all things, and which were given us by the Creator expressly for that purpose. But the use of these instruments implies a distinguishing between things that differ, and would by no means allow us to run a parallel between the Creator and 'any intelligent being,' still less one so low in the moral scale as Louis Napoleon.

You justly characterize as 'absurd' an imagined mode of reasoning about the Emperor of France, which includes the following sentence. 'It is true that all the facts of his past administration, as far as I have been able to obtain them, are entirely against this supposed, and would lead me to quote another result; but this does not in the least shake my faith.' Neither reason nor common sense seem to have been employed in this deduction, and I do not conceive myself to have given you any just ground for attributing a similar one to me. Certainly you mistake very much in saying that my confidence in God is 'without any basis but an impression.'

Whencever comes my conviction, previously stated to you, and which seems to me perfectly natural and probable, that human affairs are superintended by a God, supreme in every imaginable excellence, it is corroborated by the whole weight, be it the same or less, of those arguments of Paley and Butler which are commonly considered to demonstrate such superintendence, and which, however they may fall short of logical proof, must be admitted by every one to furnish a very strong presumption in favor of it. I think with these authors, and with Paul, that 'the things that are made' furnish us abundant reason for believing in a God, their maker, and though an infidel says to me that, 'on the theory that "evidence of design requires a designer,"' God also requires a designer, and so another and another, *ad infinitum*, I am unable to contradict him, my confidence remains unshaken, and I believe in God as firmly as in any of the things that I can prove.

Though it be true, as I have said, that a complete view of the good and evil thus developed in human history would not 'justify the ways of God to man,' still less would it justify the position of the atheist, or the devil-worshipper. The immense preponderance of good over evil in human experience makes a presumption quite strong enough not only to authorize the theism prevailing almost universally among men, but to make him ridiculous who fixes his eyes pertinaciously upon the evil and will not look at the good, or who suffers a tenth or a ten-thousandth part of incidental evil to outweigh in his estimation the immense remainder of obviously systematic and prearranged good. The man who should attempt, from the phenomena of nature and humanity, to prove that there was no God, or only an infernal one, would fall much further short of his object than Paley and Butler have of theirs. If it is necessary to allude any further to 'Napoleon the Little,' I will say that I have yet to see any beginning of good in him, upon which to found even a favorable 'impression.'

I have told you that I know not whence comes my conviction of the existence and the perfect excellence of God; but on viewing this conviction side by side with the immense majority of the facts springing out of the life of man, I am quite satisfied of its correctness; and quite satisfied also to live it by not only to, but after, that event in life which is commonly called death. As to the (comparatively) few residual facts of sin and misery, it seems to me the extreme of foolish credulity to be led by them into atheism. True, I cannot satisfactorily explain them; but, conscious that my knowledge is very limited, believing that Infinite Perfection can, and perfectly able to trust that he will, ultimately unravel this difficulty, and glorify himself in the progressive welfare of all mankind, I am content to wait, and I see nothing unreasonable in thus waiting. It is certainly more rational than to quit the probable (because I cannot logically prove it) for the improbable and absurd.

I dissent entirely from your statement that we can ascertain what the Author of Nature is likely to do in a future world only by inquiring what sort of things he has done in this world. It is certain that the vast majority of men, both religious and irreligious, have not believed in the goodness of God; it is apparent to my mind that they do not now. Men defraud and oppress their inferiors, the eminences of an enfeebled conscience half answered by a theory, that God's standard of moral action is not substantially higher than their own; that it would be an impertinence for them to assume a virtue that would reflect on their idea of the divine; that God is selfish, eager to appropriate to himself the goods of the universe, cunning to entrap, in terrible catastrophes, creatures too feeble and too ignorant to avoid them, indemnifying himself for a short-coming patience with sin, by the completeness and perpetuity of his punishment.

Bo it, then, that nature, joined with us and corrupted by us, in our estrangement from God, thus libels him. Be it, that the religions of past ages, gathered from men's minds, and the aspects of nature, and, like our own souls, only partially enlightened by the divine spirit, have not yet wholly vindicated him—whence it is to jump to the conclusion, that God is not good, not good even according to my ideas of goodness; for to speak of goodness, other than of that of which I have an idea, is like talking of a color or an odor, of which I never had a perception. Much of the evil influences in the world, we can readily see how I, and other men, contributed to form. I feel the depraving influence of customs and institutions and laws, that were once voluntary relations of which I have been deprived; that the mismanagement one series further back. As I may not doubt the goodness of God, as, from my natural perceptions of right, I cannot believe that these arrangements are just, and simply, and until otherwise informed, assume that God is not the author of these arrangements; that a good being will not be guilty of a bad action. This seems infinitely more philosophical, and more reverent, than to jump to the conclusion, that God is not good, not good even according to my ideas of goodness; for to speak of goodness, other than of that of which I have an idea, is like talking of a color or an odor, of which I never had a perception. Much of the evil influences in the world, we can readily see how I, and other men, contributed to form. I feel the depraving influence of customs and institutions and laws, that were once voluntary relations of which I have been deprived; that the mismanagement one series further back. 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